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An Odd Bit of Hidden History: De Gaulle's CIA Aide

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Charles de Gaulle is reputed to have been an ultranationalist who was almost paranoically suspicious of any foreign intrusion into France's internal affairs. Yet for several years prior to his return to power in 1958 he knowingly maintained regular contact with a covert US Central Intelligence Agency operative, partly because he wanted to preserve a link with America and partly because he was personally attached to the American assigned to keep tabs on him. But although the CIA was able with his own cooperation to watch de Gaulle closely, it failed to perceive that he would regain authority and at one stage it even tried to block him by financing his opponents, a fact that certainly did not elude him and may have contributed to his later wariness of Washington.

I encountered this historical footnote the other day in the person of John F. Hasey, the former CIA agent attached to de Gaulle. A slight, easygoing man in his mid-50s, Hasey compensates for the prosaic pace of his present retirement by recalling past experiences, and he told me of his years with de Gaulle as we chatted in the living room of his home outside Washington. He had gone to France as a student in the 1930s, but instead of studying he landed a job in Paris with Cartier's, the jeweler. After France fell to the Germans, he met de Gaulle in England at a friend's dinner table and was so impressed by the Free French cause that he enlisted in the foreign legion. Some months later, fighting against the Vichy forces in Syria, a burst of machine gun fire shattered his face. His exploits earned him membership in the *Ordre de la Liberation*, an exclusive fraternity created by de Gaulle to honor his supporters. Only three other Americans were similarly honored, among them Dwight Eisenhower.

Hasey went to work for Cartier's in New York after World War II but hankered for something more exciting, and when Eisenhower was appointed commander of the Allied armies in Europe in late 1950, Hasey asked to join him. Ike forwarded the request to the CIA, and not long afterward Hasey was in Paris performing various agency duties. He organized a clandestine surveillance team composed of former foreign legionnaires. He persuaded a young Laotian captain by the name of Phoumi Nosavan, then at the *Ecole de Guerre*, to become a paid CIA protégé. His chief task, however, was to stick close to de Gaulle, who was then in the political wilderness. As Hasey tells it, he went to see de Gaulle at the general's shabby office in the Rue de Solierino and announced that he represented CIA Director Allen Dulles. De Gaulle remembered Hasey from wartime days and said: "My door is open any time you need me because you helped me in my side."

I needed you."

Dedicated as they were to a united Europe under US auspices, CIA policymakers during this period feared that de Gaulle would, if he came back to power, wreck the Atlantic alliance then in its embryonic phase. Hasey was under instructions to report any moves that de Gaulle might make in that direction. De Gaulle reassured him that he had no intention of toppling the feeble Fourth Republic. Nevertheless Hasey sensed that the general would eventually reemerge, and he sought to convince the CIA of the wisdom of cultivating de Gaulle, thus building up "goodwill" for the future. He proposed, for example, that the agency quietly bring the general to the US for an operation to remove cataracts from his eyes. That idea was spurned. Hasey was permitted to provide de Gaulle with unclassified materials for memoirs he was then writing, but a recommendation that the general be authorized to receive confidential US analyses of world affairs was rejected. According to Hasey, the US ambassador in Paris at the time, Douglas Dillon, was reluctant to visit de Gaulle and only agreed to do so after it was learned that the Soviet envoy was seeing the general regularly.

At meetings between de Gaulle and Hasey, which took place about once a month, the two men reminisced or speculated on global matters. One theme that de Gaulle often emphasized, Hasey recalls, was that the US and the Soviet Union were countries too large to govern and would ultimately fragment. That notion suggested to Hasey that de Gaulle was thinking that the residual French empire would also break up and that independence for Algeria, a burning issue in France at that time, was inevitable. Hasey stresses, however, that nobody really knew what was going on in de Gaulle's mind. Even after he was propelled into power by the uprising in Algiers in 1958, Hasey recalls, a member of the Gaullist inner circle, Gen. Pierre Koenig, told him: "I know that de Gaulle will never let Algeria go, and you report that to Washington."

If the CIA did little to court de Gaulle's goodwill during the late 1950s, its efforts to mobilize his adversaries against him failed. When the Algerian eruption opened the way for de Gaulle's return to power, for instance, a CIA agent in Paris delivered a black bag containing \$75,000 to former Premier Guy Mollet in a last-ditch effort to help the Socialist party leader stop the general. Mollet not only did nothing to halt de Gaulle, but in a curious turnabout, joined the Gaullist government and lent it legitimacy. The CIA, incidentally, never again saw the \$75,000.

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Stanley Karnow

Lovestone retiring from key position

End of an era for U.S. labor

By Ed Townsend
Labor correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York

An important and controversial era in American labor is ending.

Jay Lovestone, director of the AFL-CIO's International Department and the "gray eminence" of the federation's strong anti-Communist foreign policy, is retiring June 30.

There is general agreement among observers that not many in American labor have been as broadly influential at home and abroad in shaping not only union philosophies, but also wartime and postwar social and political structures.

Mr. Lovestone has been one of a small group of AFL-CIO "cloak and dagger" operatives — more out in the open now — who were highly effective in plots and counterplots throughout the world to oppose Communist global aspirations to infiltrate labor movements.

Meany still boss

But despite Mr. Lovestone's retirement, the AFL-CIO's international position will remain the same for some time to come, observers say. For no matter who holds the labor body's top international affairs post, it is George Meany, president of the

AFL-CIO, who is the final arbiter of policies — and there is not a more hard-line, implacable anti-Communist in U.S. labor.

"Labor and the free world owe him [Mr. Lovestone] a deep debt of gratitude," said Mr. Meany recently of his friend and long-time adviser. Then recognizing Mr. Lovestone's controversial position, he noted that his foreign policy aide also has long been "the target of all who would pervert democracy and destroy democratic institutions."

Many in AFL-CIO share in varying degrees Mr. Meany's regard for Mr. Lovestone, onetime U.S. Communist leader who renounced communism to become a dedicated and highly effective foe of its ideology and tactics not only in the U.S. but throughout the free world.

Mr. Lovestone is still denounced regularly in the U.S. Communist press and by extreme leftists as a traitor and a "fascist." Those in labor who favor more flexibility in relations with unions abroad, often criticize him as too rigid in his beliefs and too responsive to old ideological positions.

Party founder in 1916

Mr. Lovestone helped organize the American Communist Party in 1916 and became its general secretary in the late 1920's, until he broke with Russian communism and was purged from the party by Joseph Stalin. A pragmatist, he had protested orders from Moscow to implement a worker and farmer action program during the depression as impractical. He then reorganized the Communist Party, U.S.A., along lines he and other American leaders considered best suited for the country and its workers.

At the same time, in the 1930's, he futilely sought to develop a strong backing for communism within rapidly expanding American unions — at one time with a particular emphasis on the struggling, young United Auto Workers. But in a dramatic philosophical reversal in the late 1930's, Mr. Lovestone renounced communism and became an effective antagonist. He first began working with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in 1943, then later became active with the old AFL and later the AFL-CIO.

He was decorated for his activities in Europe

by former West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

The AFL-CIO staff official helped form the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and to maintain it for years as a counter to Communist unionism.

Although known particularly for foreign affairs, he also was a trusted aide to Mr. Meany in domestic and union matters. He was an intermediary — unsuccessful — between Mr. Meany, then secretary-treasurer of the old AFL, and John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers during efforts in the mid-1930's to avoid the Industrial unions breakaway that led to formation of the CIO.

After World War II, he worked strenuously to shore up Europe's democratic unions and governments — with AFL-CIO's funds reportedly supplemented by a still-unconfirmed \$2 million a year from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. A former top aide of Allen Dulles, then Director of the CIA, is a source for reports that Mr. Lovestone's vastly informed labor intelligence operation was used to funnel CIA funds to groups fighting to strengthen democracy in Europe.

Mr. Lovestone is to be succeeded by Ernest S. Lee, his assistant since 1964 and Mr. Meany's son-in-law. A graduate of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and one-time Marine Corps major, Mr. Lee's views usually are parallel to those of Mr. Lovestone — and of Mr. Meany — but they are less scarred by decades of ideological infighting.

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Behind Psychological Assessments Door, A CIA Operation

By Laurence Stern
Washington Post Staff Writer

At first glance the interior of the room on the fourth floor of the Van Ness Shopping Center office building looks like the many dozens of private consulting firms scattered in their smartly appointed quarters throughout Washington.

The neat lettering on the door says: "Psychological Assessments Associates, Inc." Admission is gained by pushing a buzzer and waiting for someone to unlock the door from the inside.

But Walter P. Pasternak, the operating head of Psychological Assessments, is not anxious to see unscheduled visitors. "We have nothing to say," he told a visiting reporter in terse and angry tones, moving immediately toward the door.

The reason for Pasternak's reticence is that Psychological Assessments is unlike most other businesses. From the time of its incorporation in 1963, its principal source of funding has been the Central Intelligence Agency, which is what Pasternak does not want to talk about.

"We could never have existed without this support," acknowledges the firm's retiring president, John W. Gittinger, who founded it with two other former CIA psychologists after they left full-time employment with the agency.

Gittinger is less reluctant to talk because he is disassociating himself from Psychological Assessments on July 1 and is proud of the work it has done as well as his long years of service to the CIA, to which he is still personally under contract as a consultant.

The company won an obscure and perhaps unjustified mention in the case of former White House special counsel Charles Colson, who pleaded guilty on June 6 to an obstruction of justice charge growing out of his role in the Daniel Ellsberg break-in case.

Colson had asked the office of the Watergate special

prosecutor, Allen M. Dulles, who was seriously injured in Korea, from a New York neurologist, Dr. Harold G. Wolfe.

Dulles became interested in Wolfe's research into Chinese indoctrination of captured American pilots during the Korean war. CIA began financing the research work through first the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology, with which Wolfe was associated, and then the Human Ecology Fund, according to Gittinger.

Both operated a private research organization with headquarters in New York and with branches overseas. "This whole project was Allen Dulles' baby," Gittinger explained. "It grew out of his son's injury in Korea."

Because of the growing controversy over CIA financing of private organizations in the mid-1960s, the Human Ecology Fund was abandoned. The controversy was touched off by disclosure that the agency was funding activities of U.S.-based student, labor, journalistic and cultural organizations.

The Human Ecology Fund was spared public mention during the furor over clandestine CIA financing. It folded quietly after Gittinger moved to Washington to start Psychological Assessments Associates Inc.

Current programs by PAA, said Gittinger, are strongly pointed toward Soviet, Chinese and Arab cultural training. He declined to discuss the specific nature of the programs or whether PAA carried out such programs for foreign intelligence or security organizations.

The commercial side of PAA's activities—screening foreign employees of American firms—has shrunk in recent years, making the com-

pany almost wholly dependent on its CIA contracts.

He emphasized that the company has never taken a government or private contract which involved the "assessment" of an American citizen. "We do absolutely no domestic advising," Gittinger said. "We have never been asked to evaluate an American."

Gittinger and the two other ex-CIA founders of PAA, Robert E. Goodnow and Samuel B. Lyerly, have ended their active association with the company. It was understood that the new operating group is seeking to divest itself of the CIA financial sponsorship.

"I am very proud of what I have done for the agency over a long period of time in the assessments field," said Gittinger. "There is nothing I am ashamed of, nothing I have to hide."

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